

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS REPORT

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
SECTION OF CYPRUS PORTION OF COMMITTEE REPORT ON STUDY
MISSION TO MIDDLE EAST AREA IN JANUARY 1976.

--BEGIN TEXT: NO PORTION OF THE MISSIONS'S TRIP TO THE
MIDDLE EAST INVOLVED MORE IMMEDIATELY PRESSING CONSIDERA-
TIONS THAN THE VISITS TO TURKEY AND GREECE, WHERE
THE KEY ISSUE DISCUSSED WAS THE DISPUTE OVER CYPRUS. IN
BOTH CAPITALS WE SOUGHT TO CONVEY A SENSE OF THE URGENCY
WE ATTRIBUTE TO ACHIEVING PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. IN SO
DOING WE STRESSED TO OUR GREEK AND TURKISH ALLIES THAT
WE CAME AS FRIENDS SEEKING TO BE HELPFUL AND WERE NOT
ENGAGED IN PRESSURE TACTICS.

--IN BOTH ANKARA AND ATHENS WE WERE IMPRESSED BY THE
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EVIDENT FRIENDSHIP AND GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES,

DESPITE PENDING PROBLEMS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.
GREECE AND TURKEY RETAIN AN ONGOING INTEREST IN COOPERATION
WITH THE UNITED STATES, NOTWITHSTANDING THAT IN REFERENCE
TO THE CYPRUS QUESTION; GREECE BELIEVES SHE IS THE

AGGRIEVED PARTY, WHILE TURKEY FEELS SHE HAS BEEN
SERIOUSLY WRONGED BY THE UNITED STATES.

--WE LEFT THE AREA WITH A MORE VIVID UNDERSTANDING OF WHY
THE CYPRUS IMPASSE, IF PERMITTED TO FESTER, WILL INCREASE
THE DANGER OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE.
PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL AND PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS
BOTH SPOKE TO US, IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS, ABOUT THE POSSI-
BILITY OF WAR IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN UNDER CERTAIN
CIRCUMSTANCES. THESE STATEMENTS WERE MADE AMID EX-
TENSIVE DISCUSSION OF EFFORTS TO MOVE TOWARD A PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT AND WERE NOT, IN OUR OPINION, INTENDED AS
THREATS. IT IS APPARENT THAT UNTIL THERE IS A MUTUALLY
ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, THIS DISPUTE
WILL CONTINUE TO POISON GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, WILL
IMPAIR OUR RELATIONS WITH TWO IMPORTANT ALLIES, AND WILL
WORK TO THE DETRIMENT OF NATO SOLIDARITY AND THE PROSPECTS
FOR ENDURING PEACE IN THE REGION.

--OUR VISITS TO GREECE AND TURKEY LEFT US GUARDEDLY OPTI-
MISTIC ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS ON CYPRUS DESPITE
THE FAILURES TO DATE IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION. IN
ANKARA, THE TURKISH LEADERSHIP SHOWED, IN OUR OPINION, A
SINCERE INTEREST IN MOVING TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. THE
MISSION WAS ASSURED THAT A DATE WOULD BE SET SOON FOR
INTERCOMMUNAL CYPRUS TALKS. IN ATHENS, PRIME MINISTER
CARAMANLIS ENCOURAGED US WITH HIS STATEMENT THAT IN
URGING GREECE TO NEGOTIATE, "YOU ARE FORCING AN OPEN
DOOR."

--THUS WE WERE PLEASED, THOUGH NOT SURPRISED, WITH THE
ANKARA ANNOUNCEMENT SHORTLY AFTER OUR RETURN TO WASHINGTON
THAT THE CYPRUS TALKS WOULD BE RESUMED ON FEBRUARY 17. WE
ALSO WELCOMED TURKEY'S SUBSEQUENT ANNOUNCEMENT OF A WITH-
DRAWAL OF ANOTHER 2,000 TURKISH TROOPS FROM THE ISLAND,
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IN ADDITION TO THE APPROXIMATELY 10,000 ALREADY PULLED
OUT.

--PERHAPS THE MOST HOPEFUL INDICATION OF POTENTIAL FOR
PROGRESS ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE IS AN APPARENT SIMILARITY OF
VIEWS REGARDING THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF A SETTLEMENT. THE
CONCEPT ENVISAGES AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS UNDER A LOOSE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH ZONES EACH

POSSESSING A LARGE MEASURE OF AUTONOMY. HOW MUCH TERRITORY WOULD BE ACCORDED TO EACH ZONE WOULD, OF COURSE, BE A MAJOR ITEM TO BE NEGOTIATED.

--REGRETFULLY, WE GAINED NO EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS ON CYPRUS WILL QUICKLY PRODUCE ANY

DRAMATIC BREAKTHROUGHS. THE SUSPICIONS AND ANIMOSITIES BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY ARE DEEP AND LONGSTANDING. THE CYPRUS ISSUES ARE COMPLEX. BOTH SIDES MUST CONTEND WITH DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR KINDRED COMMUNITIES ON THE ISLAND. SUCH ELEMENTS WORK AGAINST A SPEEDY SOLUTION.

--IN ORDER TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN MOMENTUM TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, WE FAVOR MAINTAINING DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND BY FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE GOOD OFFICES OF AN AMERICAN MEDIATOR IF THE APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY ARISES.

--WE HAVE FOUND NO EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT U.S. PRESSURE AGAINST TURKEY SUCH AS THE ARMS EMBARGO CAN EFFECTIVELY INDUCE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. WE DID GAIN A HEIGHTENED AWARENESS OF THE DAMAGE DONE TO UNITED STATES-TURKISH RELATIONS AND TO TURKEY'S CONTRIBUTION TO NATO FROM THE PREVIOUS EMBARGO ACTION, AND WE BELIEVE THAT ANY FURTHER ACTION ALONG THIS LINE WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO U.S.

INTERESTS.

--ON THE OTHER HAND, IT SEEMED CLEAR TO US THAT BOTH COUNTRIES WANT AND NEED U.S. ASSISTANCE IN CARRYING UNCLASSIFIED

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OUT MUTUAL SECURITY RESPONSIBILITIES. WE THEREFORE FAVOR THE PROVISION OF U.S. ASSISTANCE TO BOTH TURKEY AND GREECE UNDER THE PENDING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1976 IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN A STRONG ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND GAIN THE SUPPORT NEEDED FOR U.S. INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. END TEXT.

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